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17th PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 5 October 1993
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. INSANALLY
(Guyana)

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 *(continued)*

GENERAL DEBATE

ADDRESS BY HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE EL-HASSAN BIN TALAL, CROWN PRINCE OF THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will first hear a statement by the Crown Prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

His Royal Highness Prince El-Hassan Bin Talal, Crown Prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT: I have pleasure in welcoming the Crown Prince of Jordan, His Royal Highness Prince El-Hassan Bin Talal, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Prince EL-HASSAN BIN TALAL: I should like at the outset to extend to you, Mr. President, my sincere congratulations on your well-deserved election. I should like to wish you and the other members of the General Committee success in the discharge of your important duties. I had a chance to congratulate the President of the Assembly at its last session when I saw him in Amman, and I should now like to reiterate my gratitude for his competent presidency.

The cold war may be over, but its death-knell reverberates around the globe. The comforting ideological certainties of super-Power confrontation are long gone. What have we to replace them? The new world order, with its promise of peace through collective security, has come upon a baptism of fire. And still it would appear that no common frame of reference, no new consensus, no global ethic, has emerged.

As we enter the new millennium, we see the human spirit under siege as never before. Across the world, the voices of millions cry out in desperation for relief, for guidance. If we, the peoples of the United Nations, are to be true to our humanity, we must reappraise this situation that is of our own making. We must learn its lessons, no matter how hard, and we must apply them. It is our task today, and in the days to come, to fashion principles and practices for a truly new world order. In all fields of human endeavour, we need a new ethic for a new era.

The balance of world power politics has given way. Ethnic nationalism has re-emerged, a phenomenon in which the unifying bond of common citizenship is replaced by racial or religious exclusivity. As a consequence, we face a series of apparently endless wars of attrition, fought to secure the domination of one ethnic nationalism over another. This trend must be reversed if our world is to be made safe from the spreading contagion of conflict.

Many over the years have thought it impossible, but the Middle East is bucking this alarming trend. The signing on 13 September of the Palestinian-Israeli declaration of principles represents a significant step

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towards the achievement of a negotiated settlement in our troubled region.

On the Jordanian-Israeli track, a common agenda, which has been carefully worked out over the last year and a half, has now been adopted. We trust that this will signify the commencement of serious and substantive negotiations on the various elements of that agenda, with the aim of achieving just and mutually satisfactory solutions.

These developments are a triumph not only for the politics of consensus, but also for the international morality which the United Nations advocates and the legality it upholds. Over the years the Assembly has passed resolution after resolution calling for a just, comprehensive and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestine question that lies at its core. Finally, the main actors are playing the leading part in shaping their own destinies.

My country has always sought to bring this prolonged and bitter conflict to an end, and in our search for solutions we have constantly aimed to reconcile peace and justice. Jordan has advocated a negotiated settlement based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) longer than any other party. Under the new arrangements, all parties to the conflict are committed to the implementation of those resolutions, affirming a cardinal principle of international law: the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force.

There is an equally important principle to bear in mind, however. Peace cannot be piecemeal. It must be comprehensive if it is to be viable. As foreseen in the Madrid framework for the peace talks, some issues cannot be addressed by any two parties to the exclusion of others. The questions of regional security, water and above all the refugees cannot be resolved without direct reference to the neighbouring States. The status of Jerusalem has to be determined in a similar way. The legitimate rights which the three great monotheistic faiths share in the Holy City must be guaranteed and claims of political and administrative sovereignty accommodated to the satisfaction of all.

In view of Jordan's long association with the Palestinian question, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)-Israeli agreement will have major implications for our legitimate interests. At a time when new entities are being formed, an orderly transfer of power and authority is vital. Only this can safeguard the rights of existing States and those of individuals. There are questions to address about State property, archives, debts, treaties, nationality, salaries, pensions - the list is long, but not exhaustive. Jordan will seek modalities for their resolution with the relevant parties through our agenda.

The refugee question is of paramount importance. It should not, and must not, be forgotten that the individuals affected have under international law a right of return and compensation, and their host countries are likewise entitled to compensation. Jordan has shouldered an enormous human load as a result of the conflict. Three waves of involuntary migrants - the refugees of 1948, the evacuees of 1967 and the returnees of 1991 - have sought shelter and succor in Jordan. Our treatment of these and other displaced persons has been exemplary. We have provided them with education and health services, with jobs and welfare. Citizens of Jordan, whether of Palestinian or Jordanian origin, enjoy civil and human rights equally and participate as equals in our democratization process. Jordan seeks an equitable, sustainable international approach to the treatment of our demographic burden, for it would be unconscionable to penalize host countries for their humanitarian policies.

Another crucial issue is water. Our agenda strikes a delicate balance between the need for optimal utilization of scarce resources, on the one hand, and the equally imperative need to define the rights and duties of riparian States, on the other. We also look forward to definitive delineation of our borders with Israel, thereby giving concrete expression to the right of every nation to live in secure and internationally recognized boundaries.

When the euphoria has subsided, these serious and complex questions will remain. The PLO-Israel accord, historic as it is, represents a first step towards Palestinian final status, which in turn will allow the Palestinians to take part in comprehensive regional security and cooperation arrangements. For the Middle East cannot be reduced to a single issue. It more closely resembles a tapestry woven of numerous intertwining threads.

One of these wider regional issues - the suffering of the Iraqi people - demands urgently to be addressed. A succession of independent reports has brought to light the special impact of continued sanctions upon the most vulnerable segments of Iraqi society - in particular, the children. The sanctions regime that daily takes its toll on the people of Iraq also has adverse consequences for neighbouring States, including Jordan and Turkey. Issues such as this must be resolved if the Middle East is to seize

its chance for lasting peace. A cooperative security system will help to protect the security of the States and peoples of the region. We can only avert the kind of destabilizing conflict that followed the end of the cold war in Eurasia by making arrangements to ensure our common future, underpinned by the full support of the international community.

Despite these outstanding questions, I have no doubt that the extraordinary achievements of the autumn of 1993 will be seen in years to come as the start of a fresh course in the settlement of regional conflicts. The politics of dialogue and reconciliation have been our regional and domestic priorities, for they are essential to the democratic process. We seek to extend the principles of consensus and collective security to the Middle East to create a new regional order, an order which recognizes the right of each individual to lead a life free from fear, want and despair, an order which will provide justice to all peoples and security to all States, an order in which the United Nations and its agencies can play a positive role not only in humanitarian intervention or the protection of human rights, but in active peace-keeping and peacemaking.

Jordan applauds Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali for his valiant efforts to overhaul the United Nations structure and personnel, injecting a fresh sense of purpose commensurate with the new challenges. It is in the interests of all Members of this body to see international law respected and upheld. We must all assist the Secretary-General in determining the criteria for United Nations intervention, whether in Lebanon, Iraq, Somalia, Bosnia, Angola, Cambodia or anywhere else. The terms of reference embodied in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter must be clearly defined, with checks and balances approved to avoid the erosion of the independence and territorial sovereignty of Member States. There is also an urgent need for well-trained international peace-keeping forces, which could be established under a reconstituted Military Staff Committee. The *modus operandi* for all United Nations action, irrespective of the issue at hand, must be the supremacy of the rule of law and the uniformity of its application. Double standards should not and must not be permitted, lest abuse of the law become the accepted norm.

A wider issue concerning this Organization is that of Security Council reform. Jordan adds its voice to the host of countries that have called for a reassessment of the structure of the Security Council. Clearly, conditions in the world have changed dramatically since the formation of the Council, and we believe that these should be reflected in its composition. Jordan also lends its support to the Secretary-General's proposals for post-conflict peace-building outlined in his "An Agenda for Peace".

For in every part of the world peace will remain illusory unless it touches the daily lives of ordinary people. Peace will not take root except in an environment conducive to regional cooperation and mutual security and committed to the welfare of individual human beings. The development of economic infrastructure and provisions for investment in public services are as crucial as the questions of territorial sovereignty, national identity and security. It is for this reason that Jordan welcomes the recently convened conference to support Middle East peace as both timely and pragmatic. The peace dividend in my region, as elsewhere, must put an end to the politics of deprivation, fear and despair, the breeding ground for political extremism and rejection.

The disparities and distortions created by half a century of conflict in the Middle East have given rise to such phenomena. That is undeniable. However, there is considerable alarm in the Muslim world at suggestions that Islam may replace communism as a global threat. These suggestions are informed by a skewed perception of Islam as a monolithic creed of violence, intolerance and oppression.

Islam is not the new enemy. Extremism does exist within the Muslim world, much as it exists in the Christian world, the Jewish world, the Hindu world and the secular world. But to employ reductive stereotypes which demonize one fifth of the world's population must ultimately be self-defeating. It can only result in the breed of senseless violence that has brought untold suffering and loss of life to Bosnia. Rather than seeking an enemy at the gates, let us each in our own communities look inwards and address the disparities and the despair that are the true causes of extremism and conflict. Let us join together to do battle with the real enemy.

That enemy is a new world of "each for himself". That is what we must combat, with all the resources at our disposal. For the politics and economics of exclusivity are the bane of both pragmatism and idealism.

Is the triple pillar of democracy, human rights and the free market the ceiling of our ambition? Democracy and free market economics are exceptionally successful systems with noble objectives. But they are not ends in themselves. The end for which we all strive is greater

peace and greater justice for individual human beings across the world. How is this to be achieved?

One of our strongest defences against a new world of "each for himself" would be a new global business ethic, applying not only among the developed nations, but also between those nations and the developing countries. Such an ethic might prescribe a relationship of partnership which would in turn encourage greater self-reliance. Such an ethic would be wholly reconcilable with human rights, with pluralism, with care for the environment and with basic religious values. I would like to suggest that the key to a new ethic in all of these areas is our mutual interdependence.

Whatever the context, injustice is perceived and conflict results when the gap between "self" and "other" seems larger than the common ground. This fundamental split between "me" and "you", between "us" and "them", is at the root of all oppositions, all polarities, all conflicts. Recognition of our mutual interdependence requires us to acknowledge the uniqueness of each individual and each culture - even into the broader environment - and to learn to live with the differences as with the commonalities. It requires that we strive for unity, but never seek to eradicate or compromise diversity. It requires a new thinking based on tolerance and compassion - a humane approach and respect for the voices of others. It requires, in short, that we be true to the ideals that fired the founders of this Organization when they wrote the words: "We the peoples of the United Nations".

Herein lies the nexus between peacemaking, human rights, pluralism, cultural heritage and business ethics. Here lies the key to a new world of "all for each other", not "each for himself".

The Middle East is showing the way. Its conflict, once held to be the most intractable on Earth, is now on the path to reconciliation and healing. As we enter a new millennium, a new era, let the world take heart from our example. Let us emerge together from the past and together let us build our brave new world.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Crown Prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan for the statement he has just made.

His Royal Highness Prince El-Hassan Bin Talal, Crown Prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, was escorted from the rostrum.

Mr. AROSEMENA (Panama) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: Please accept my warmest congratulations, Sir, upon your election to preside over the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session. I am certain that your election will contribute to its success.

This session of the General Assembly takes place two years before we are to celebrate the Organization's fiftieth anniversary. We long had to navigate through the stormy waters of the cold war and ideological confrontation. It was not an easy task. However, today's world is different from that of the signatories of the United Nations Charter. East-West *détente* has given us renewed hopes, though we have still not won the war against poverty and social marginalization. Our main goal should be to make those hopes a reality, if we wish to build a society where not only a just peace but peaceful justice prevail.

Obviously, the reorganization of the Security Council is not an easy task, and it becomes even more difficult if we take into account the fact that, since the very moment the San Francisco Charter was signed, the Council has been made up of permanent and non-permanent members, and that the right of veto extended to the permanent members has given rise, among other things, to their being accused, with some justification, of attacking the principle of the legal equality of States.

The Republic of Panama is of the opinion that if the Security Council is to be reorganized, the reorganization must be carried out in such a way that the representation on the Council of all United Nations Members is equitable. Therefore, any reorganization must promote fair participation for the developing States, as the situations that used to be given as explanations for the way the Council was composed and for the right of veto have disappeared now that there is East-West *détente*.

Drug addiction has become the main scourge of humanity. The Republic of Panama, like all States, therefore has the duty to repress drug trafficking and the resulting money-laundering activities on its territory, and to help repress these illegal activities in all States. Panama, aware of these responsibilities and of the fact that the effective repression of drug-related crimes makes international cooperation necessary, on 11 April 1991 Panama and the United States of America signed a Treaty on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Affairs, which was ratified by the Panamanian Legislative Assembly on 11 July 1991. The Treaty is currently awaiting the consent of the United States Senate before the effects we expect from it can begin to be felt.

On 1 March 1993, Panama and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland signed the Agreement on Mutual Legal Cooperation on Drug Trafficking, which must first be approved by the Panamanian Legislative Assembly before it too can be ratified. In addition, and at Panama's request, the Central American countries have agreed to sign a similar treaty, which will be opened to accession by all the Latin American countries. Also, the Panamanian Executive Branch has submitted the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances to the Panamanian Legislative Assembly for its consideration; we are convinced that, once it is ratified, we shall have at our disposal a valuable instrument in our struggle against drug-related crime.

Human rights and fundamental freedoms do not come as a generous concession from a State or its authorities. They are inherent to the human person, regardless of political, social, racial, religious or any other factor. Those rights and freedoms are therefore inseparable, and must be recognized and respected. The fact that those rights and freedoms are inherent to the human person affords them a universality and indivisibility that must be strengthened.

Violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms do not only attack the person whose rights and fundamental freedoms have been trampled on; they also attack institutional stability, the constitutional order and the rule of law. This is so because the person whose rights and freedoms have been disregarded is inclined towards insurrection or at least towards personal revenge, the private vengeance of the eye-for-an-eye principle.

Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, or violations of them, must therefore be examined not only as a problem that affects individual interests but rather in a much wider context, as a problem that affects society in general. This is why most of the insurrections, rebellions and fratricidal conflicts have their origins in violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms to the detriment of large swathes of the population. Such violations often stem from a lack of democracy, from the absence of the rule of law, from extreme poverty and from social marginalization.

While on the subject of lack of democracy, I wish to state that, under the United Nations Charter, a purpose of this Organization is

> "To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples ...".

In conformity with the principle of self-determination, all countries can adopt the form of government that best suits them. However, by allowing dictatorial regimes to exist, the international community takes away all the principle's force.

The thing is that sovereignty - and the same can be said of self-determination - can be harmed otherwise than by the acts of outside States. They can also be violated by a State's own nationals, when they place themselves above the popular will, as has often occurred; dictatorships have disregarded just this principle of self-determination and have so violated human rights. This is so because the only source of public power is the people.

When a dictatorship disregards the principle of self-determination or the peoples' sovereignty - which occurs every time a people is denied its inalienable right to adopt the form of government that best suits its interests - it violates sovereignty, and the principle of self-determination, inasmuch as the State's power to act does not have its source in the people: it has its source in those who hold public power with no more legitimacy - if it can be called "legitimacy" - than the force of arms. In addition, when a dictatorship disregards human rights, it deprives the inhabitants of the State, the people, from whom sovereignty and self-determination flow, of rights that every State must accord its citizens simply because they are human persons. I have allowed myself to briefly address the principle of self-determination because I am convinced that a clear understanding of this principle will contribute towards strengthening its legal force, to the benefit of democracy and the rule of law.

The situation Haiti is going through is worrying. The Governors Island Agreement provides that, by the 30th of this month, the constitutional President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, must once again occupy the presidential throne. However, the de facto Government would appear to be more intent on provoking violence than promoting the re-establishment of the constitutional order. Since 3 July, 11 people have been given their quietus, including the pro-democracy activist Antoine Izmeri, whose struggle merits recognition throughout the Americas.

The Republic of Panama believes that the agreement between the constitutional Government and the chief of the Haitian Army must be fulfilled, and hopes that the

Organization, striving to live up to the principles that inspire it, will ensure that it is.

Recognition of the State of Israel within secure and recognized borders and the establishment of a Palestinian State are acts of justice restored which international peace and security make essential. Therefore, the Republic of Panama cannot be indifferent to the Declaration of Principles signed by Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) on 13 September, or to the agreement on provisional autonomy for the Gaza Strip and Jericho.

Since the formation of the State of Israel, Israelis and Palestinians have been victims of all the damage that incomprehension and intolerance can cause. The confrontational relationship between these two peoples blinded by hatred is summarized in the 45 years of tears, pain and death. However, the wars and exoduses of 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973, with their consequences of grief and suffering, should now serve as evidence of the benefits of peace. Therefore, a peace agreement between Israelis and Palestinians should become a goal for the United Nations.

The atmosphere of *détente* to which I have already referred should foster the universality of representation in this multilateral Organization. Consequently I am gratified to see that many States that have never traditionally had an active international life, such as Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco and San Marino - to mention only a few States enclaved in the European continent - have felt the need to join and support us in the important tasks we are resolved to accomplish. It is in that spirit of universality that Panama has supported and continues to support the initiative designed to study now and in the future, with innovative ideas and goodwill, the situation of the largest human group that has no voice in this body: the 21 million inhabitants of the island of Taiwan.

The Central American countries are striving to build a peaceful, free, democratic and developing region. For that reason, the efforts to bolster peace that have been initiated require actions capable of solving our economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems in order to strengthen our peoples' faith in democracy.

The endeavours to achieve democracy, national reconciliation and development in the region are obvious. But in order to continue making these efforts we require the cooperation of all States that believe in democracy, justice and freedom. Therefore, associating myself with the initiative presented by the Ibero-American Heads of State and Government in Salvador, Brazil, I call on States and international organizations to cooperate effectively with the Central American Integration System (SICA) so that it can promote and strengthen sustained subregional cooperation and attain its fundamental goal.

The ability of we who inhabit the vast territories south of the Rio Bravo to communicate with each other and with Spain in the same language - a Nicaraguan poet once called them the countries that love Christ and speak Spanish - has created an Ibero-American community which today, in meetings of Heads of State and Government, and together with Brazil and Portugal, is determined to focus its strength on the future, guided by the desire to take full advantage of the similarities which bring us together to consolidate opportunities for cooperation and solidarity.

This should be gratifying to the whole of the Ibero-American community, since our faith in the future is becoming increasingly obvious at each Summit. The first Summit, in Guadalajara, created the forum of Heads of State and Government; at the second and third Summits, in Madrid and Salvador, respectively, we saw the initial results of these commendable initiatives. It is also appropriate here to note that the Final Document of the third Summit states:

> "Without prejudice to the spheres of competence of specialized international forums, the United Nations General Assembly should focus its international development cooperation policy on securing greater access for developing countries to world markets, adequate forms of finance and modern technology. This will make it possible to overcome the obstacles to development and, while benefiting the developing countries, will also open up economic opportunities for the industrialized countries, thereby easing the migratory pressures exerted on them by those legitimately seeking ways to improve their standard of living." *(A/48/291, para. 14)*

I would feel most fortunate if the General Assembly were to listen attentively to the demands of the Ibero-American community, which feels that most of the products of its member States have been repeatedly denied increased access to markets which have been traditionally accessible, as in the case of bananas in the European Community, as well as access to financing and modern technology. For our part, the Ibero-American States should be resolved to put our financial situations in order and not depend on the marketing of a few products, and we should improve the quality of our educational systems, in order to attain greater economic stability. The Ibero-American

countries should also resolve to turn the cooperation and solidarity mentioned in the Final Document into sincere and honest cooperation and solidarity, and not mere rhetoric, as is so often the case. Only in that way will we be able to profit to the full from the affinities that we share.

Panama will be the host country of the Summit of the Ibero-American Heads of State and Government in the year 2000. This event will unquestionably have great significance for my country. It will take place precisely at a time when the Panamanian people have attained their most important legal and political objective: recovering their rights over the Panama Canal and freeing their territory from the jurisdictional limitations imposed by the ill-fated Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty. That is so because the present Panama Canal Treaty will expire on 31 December 1999. Consequently, the Republic of Panama will then manage, operate and maintain the Panama Canal. All the real estate, fixture improvements and equipment that the United States of America will be using until the end of the validity of the Treaty will revert to Panama. One of the Panamanian people's greatest wishes will thus come true on 31 December 1999.

However, as important as achieving this legal and political objective may be, it is the good or bad use we make of the Canal and the areas that revert to us that will mark our future in a positive or negative way. Thus, it is our duty as a nation to manage the Canal wisely and to use in the best possible way the areas that revert to us.

For that reason Law No. 5 of 1993 created the Authority of the Panamanian Interoceanic Region, with the objective of improving the use of the assets that are reverting and will revert to Panama between now and the year 2000. Similarly, on 6 September 1993 a draft bill for constitutional reform was submitted to the Panamanian Legislative Assembly; it is designed to add a new article to Panama's political Constitution which will create the Panama Canal Authority, whose main function will be to manage and operate the Canal. That will ensure that the Authority will not be affected by any political shifts. Thus, the Republic of Panama is preparing to manage, operate and maintain the Panama Canal from 31 December 1999. This task will be all the easier because the current Canal Administrator, and 87.7 per cent of the Panama Canal Commission employees are Panamanians, not counting those with dual nationality.

On the basis of the Panama Canal Treaty, Panama and the United States agreed in 1982 to create the Preparatory Commission to prepare the points of reference for the feasibility studies of a sea-level canal in Panama and other alternatives to the Panama Canal. They also agreed to invite Japan to be a full member of this Commission, an invitation Japan accepted. These three States created the Commission for the Study of Alternatives to the Panama Canal.

On 20 September last, this Commission presented its final report, a Joint Statement of Commission Members, which indicates that the "current Panama Canal with the widening of the Gaillard Cut seems to be able to meet the needs of international maritime trade until the end of the second decade of the twenty-first century. However," the statement continues, "before the year 2000 measures should be taken to prepare the canal for the time when the current Panama Canal will not be able to take care of the projected traffic." Such measures include "future studies to firmly establish the dates when improvements will become necessary in order to start planning the required environmental studies involved in the final engineering design and the initiation of the construction".

According to the aforementioned report, the results of the study indicate that the alternative of high-level locks, with one lane of maritime traffic at the Gaillard Cut, operating jointly with the current canal and capable of handling ships of 200,000 dead-weight tonnage, is marginally feasible.

In order to handle the projected traffic with the same efficiency during the twenty-first century as it has been handled since the opening of the Canal on 15 August 1914, if not with even greater efficiency, the aforementioned system of high-level locks will have to be built in time to begin operating by the year 2020. As it does not have the necessary resources to complete such a project, Panama believes that the cooperation of the members of the international community - primarily those who use the Canal - is essential. We hope to receive that cooperation, for the sake of the well-being of the Panama Canal users who so urgently require it.

At the beginning of my statement I referred to the fact that we are two years from the golden anniversary of this Organization. We should prepare to celebrate that great event by affirming, as its founders in San Francisco wished, "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small" and by promoting "social progress" and "better standards of life in larger freedom".

Mr. Fajardo MALDONADO (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Allow me, Ambassador Samuel Insanally, to congratulate you sincerely, on behalf of my delegation, on your election as President of the General Assembly of the United Nations at its forty-eighth session. At the same time, I would express to you our satisfaction that this post has gone to such a distinguished representative of the Latin American and Caribbean region. You may count on our cooperation in the important work that lies ahead of you.

I would also like to express our gratitude to Ambassador Stoyan Ganev for the efficiency with which he served as President of the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session.

I would give a special greeting to Andorra, the Czech Republic, Eritrea, Monaco, Slovakia, and The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and bid them a cordial welcome to our Organization. Guatemala wishes to extend to them its friendship, respect, solidarity and understanding. The increase in its membership is further proof of the faith the international community places in the United Nations as a multilateral forum *par excellence* for seeking together the solution to the problems that beset the world today.

I would also like to extend my greetings to Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General of the United Nations, whose dynamic leadership has allowed us to progress towards the common objective of strengthening our Organization and adapting it to the new world situation. We hope that his efforts to ensure fulfilment of the Charter and of its purposes and principles will be successful. We need a strengthened Organization to maintain international peace and security and to promote social progress and better standards of life for human beings within the widest concept of freedom.

We believe that the continuous dialogue between the Secretariat and the Member States should be based on mutual respect, confidence and understanding, and should take into account cultural, political, economic and social realities. The Secretary-General's role as a facilitator of peace processes, as an adviser on human rights and as a mediator in international conflicts may be strengthened by the contribution of distinguished statesmen and experts who share with him their experience and prestige.

The events which have taken place in my country since 25 May of this year have marked a fundamental change in the political and institutional life of Guatemala.

The breaking-off and subsequent restoration of constitutional order created a situation in which the people of Guatemala, as the country's only sovereigns, exercised legitimate resistance in order to protect and defend their rights and guarantees enshrined in the political Constitution of the Republic.

As one of the principal consequences of these events, with a view to consolidating the restoration of constitutional order so as to reinstall the Congress of the Republic, the political parties formally pledged in writing to purge the membership of that body.

Since this commitment has not yet been fulfilled, President Ramiro de León Carpio, as Head of State and the representative of national unity and the interests of the people of Guatemala, in accordance with the Constitution, requested the supreme electoral tribunal to hold a vote so that the citizens could express their will with regard to the political decision of calling for the resignation of the sitting members of the Congress and the judges of the Supreme Court. This vote, in conformity with the resolution of the tribunal, will be held on 28 November this year.

This process has no precedent in our political history. We wish to stress that all the actions taken by the Government of the Republic fall strictly within the framework of the Constitution, and, though the people of Guatemala may have opted for a slower path, through legality, to consolidate their democratic institutions, we are sure that this will be the best solution for the reconciliation of the Guatemalan family and the political stability of the State. Guatemala is charting its own course, and its political process cannot be compared with other realities.

Yesterday, President Ramirio de León Carpio presented the National Peace Plan and the Official Declaration on Human Rights to the Guatemalan people, as he does today, through me, to the international community. President León de Carpio's Plan seeks a firm peace, based on far-reaching reconciliation through dialogue, so that we Guatemalans can find unity in the diversity of our cultural, ethnic, religious, social, political, economic and ecological values.

It seeks lasting peace, achieved by putting an end to armed internal confrontation and seeing to it that the roots of hatred, resentment and distrust that have divided us are extirpated through negotiation and never again by violence.

It seeks a peace with the power to transform, achieved by consensus and national compromise, which will lead to the strengthening of the capacity of the Government and the society as a whole to respond promptly and effectively to social requirements, with particular attention to the sectors of the population most affected by the armed internal confrontation.

The first component is reconciliation. The Plan considers it essential to establish and promote the functioning in Guatemala of the permanent forum for peace. This forum will help to facilitate dialogue and ensure the participation of all Guatemalans in the solution of national problems. This reconciliation process will be promoted at the national, regional, departmental, municipal and communal levels. Thus, consensus and agreements will express needs that are truly felt by the people and will at the same time provide guidelines for joint action by the people and the Government to solve these problems. In this decentralization strategy, we shall make use of all mechanisms for making the community's voice heard, including urban and rural development councils.

In those councils national problems will be discussed in order to arrive at conclusions that will lead to the perfecting of our democracy, the strengthening of a State based on the rule of law, the full exercise of individual freedoms, respect for human rights, integrated, self-reliant and self-sustaining development with equality and justice and the solution to problems deriving from our cultural diversity.

We must link this permanent forum to previous achievements of the peace process. To this end, account should be taken, *inter alia*, of the contributions made to the great national dialogue and to the meetings that various sectors of the Guatemalan population had with the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG).

When that group integrates itself legally it will be able, through the national reconciliation commission, to present its ideas and proposals for subjects to be dealt with in the forum.

The matter of social requirements calls for honest, efficient and immediate actions by the Government to strengthen the protection and defence of human rights, actions that will reduce poverty indicators and promote development in the areas worst affected by violence and that will succeed in perfecting our democratic system. At the same time, the Government will promote and support responsible action in these fields by all sectors of society.

We hope the valuable support of the international community will be added to this effort of the people and the Government, which will contribute to a prompt and effective response to the needs and requirements of the population.

We cannot postpone the end of the armed confrontation, which requires the restoration of the negotiation process to bring about a definitive cease-fire; the return of the URNG to legality by means of amnesty; the defining of the conditions necessary for its integration into the country's political life; and, in consequence, its direct participation in the permanent peace forum.

We shall also define the international verification machinery which will make possible the concentration, disarmament and demobilization of URNG personnel. To achieve this, there must be an end to acts of terrorism, acts of destruction against the infrastructure and actions that harm the environment.

The process also requires, first, that there be a revision of the Oslo and Mexico City accords and, secondly, that a timetable for negotiations be set.

On the question of human rights, the Government has declared that it will act firmly against violations of these rights, with no distinction as to social or economic status. The necessary measures will be taken to protect and support persons and entities that are working in accordance with the law to promote and safeguard human rights. We therefore call upon the United Nations, the Organization of American States (OAS) and the States members of these organizations to increase their presence and technical contributions to actions that the State of Guatemala and its institutions undertake to strengthen, enable and perfect the machinery for protecting and defending human rights.

On behalf of my Government, I request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to seek a meeting with the URNG to undertake a review of the Oslo and Mexico City accords and to set a timetable for negotiations. The Government of Guatemala is proposing this Peace Plan, aware as it is of the imperative necessity for putting an end once and for all to armed confrontation, which has cost my country so many human lives over the course of more than 30 years. Only a sturdy, lasting peace with power to transform can serve as a basis to strengthen democratic institutions, guarantee respect for human rights and promote political, economic and social development.

For all of the above reasons we most warmly welcome the peace process that has been attained in the sister Republic of El Salvador and the one recently initiated between the State of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Guatemala reaffirms its faith and conviction regarding the guiding principles set out in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, outstanding among which are the principle of the peaceful solution of disputes, the right to self-determination, the sovereign equality of States and, fundamentally, the respect for human rights and the principle of democratic Government.

In keeping with the principle of universality prevailing in the current international context, our country considers that cases like that of the Republic of China in Taiwan should be thoroughly studied and considered in the light of the United Nations Charter. Guatemala renews its faith and hope in multilateralism, and particularly in the United Nations. It wishes to stress its tradition of peace, dialogue and negotiation and the non-use of force in international relations.

The security of nations is no longer an exclusively geopolitical matter falling within the framework of bipolar confrontation. It is a global problem within which we must tackle the problems that afflict today's world. The concept of security should include new elements that are fundamental for the peoples of the world: democracy, development, the preservation of the environment, combating drug trafficking, food security, population trends and so on.

The Secretariat should be in the service of Member States and in that role should facilitate instruments that will make it possible to maintain international peace and security and promote economic cooperation and social development, which will guarantee the full exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world.

Guatemala believes that, within the process of restructuring and reorganizing the United Nations that is currently under way, the efficiency of the system and the full and democratic participation of all its Members should be secured. Democratization, as a fundamental element in the development of peoples, must coexist with development of the international community and its multilateral system.

We support the initiative to expand the membership of the Security Council from a regional perspective.

Operations designed to contain or solve conflicts should be matters for priority action by the United Nations as part of the Organization's efforts to forge a new world order.

Among the problems of development are to be found many of the causes of regional, national and international tension. Development must be the central focus of the efforts of the Organization. We therefore support the holding of a World Summit for Social Development, and we hope that the Secretary-General will submit the proposed agenda for development, embracing economic affairs that have traditionally been assigned to the Organization, as well as social, political, environmental and cultural matters, which we are beginning to realize are fundamental elements in the welfare of peoples.

The well-being of mankind depends in large measure on the rational use of available natural resources. With regard to ecology, we need a global perspective, as the environment is the heritage of all mankind. If the benefits are enjoyed by all, the effort should be shared. The developed world must work more closely and more effectively in financing the various programmes to preserve the environment of the developing countries and must honour the commitments given in Rio de Janeiro.

National and international security are threatened primarily by differences between the levels of development of countries. Effective action must be taken against poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy. These scourges are worsening where there are concentrations of refugees or displaced persons. Cooperation must not be delayed. For this reason, Guatemala hopes that the initiative of reactivating the North-South dialogue to strengthen international economic cooperation for development and to revitalize global economic growth, as formulated by the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77, will be agreed to and will lead to the creation of a better world.

The developing countries must refine the machinery for political and economic coordination to enable us to get this dialogue going seriously and constructively. It is therefore essential that international economic cooperation be strengthened to revitalize global economic growth and to ensure that the technological revolution that is under way will be one more factor in the promotion of a just and equitable world order.

We must not overlook the fact that the problems of national development are to be found also in the Central American region. International cooperation is necessary for the consolidation of peace and to encourage the development of the region. Meetings of Presidents of Central American States continue to be held regularly. Due note has been taken of regional political advances, and proposals for further improvement in this field have been put forward. A summit meeting of Central American Presidents will be held in Guatemala at the end of this month for the purpose of adopting the Protocol to the General Treaty on Central American Economic Integration, whose aim is to encourage social development - a priority when it comes to consolidating peace in Central America.

The Central American effort at integration has been intensified. The Central American Integration System, which coordinates efforts at regional integration and is therefore a fundamental instrument in the process of regional development, now has a Secretary-General.

It has been proposed that a coordinated Central American fund to fight poverty be set up. This proposal will be studied at the next Summit of Central American Presidents.

Guatemala supports economic openness so that its economy may be integrated effectively into the sphere of world trade. Along with the other Central American countries, we have made progress in establishing an integrated economic space, and we are negotiating with countries and groups of countries with a view to concluding agreements on the liberalization of trade.

The Government that I represent has embarked upon a process of restructuring and consolidating its democratic institutions. Keeping faith with the Constitution of the Republic, it has today, with the greatest good will and good faith, presented its plan for peace. This is designed to save many lives and to bring to our country the longed-for peace, which cannot be achieved without the wholehearted support of the international community.

Mr. SONG Won Ho (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) *(spoke in Korean; English text furnished by the delegation)*: On behalf of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, I should like, first of all, to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly for the current session. It is our hope that your efforts will crown the session with success.

The common task facing the international community today is to build a new, independent, peaceful and prosperous world. Our planet's people have an identical aspiration: to build a new and independent world, free from all forms of domination and subjugation, aggression and war. All countries and nations should have unrestricted freedom to choose and develop their own political, economic and social systems on the basis of their sovereign rights, including the right to self-determination.

Independence is the life and soul of each country and nation, and the common right of mankind. A steadfast commitment to independence enables each country to safeguard its national dignity and rights, to maintain and consolidate international relationships on a sound basis, to bring about genuine democratization of international society and, furthermore, to help to accelerate the creation of an independent world. The absence of independence will lead to failure to safeguard national sovereignty and dignity or to secure a country's prosperity and well-being.

It is an ineluctable fact that where independence is violated, there will be domination, subordination, subjugation and inequality. We draw this lesson for mankind from the 5,000-year history of the Korean nation, and it applies to the present tumultuous era, with the twenty-first century just round the corner.

The developments and events of recent years in the international arena serve to demonstrate clearly once again the correctness of the independent lines and policies of our Republic. We regard independence as our life and soul. It is the cornerstone of the internal and external policies and approaches of our Republic. It is our people's strong commitment to independence and their principled position that have enabled our country to advance along the road of Socialism. They have chosen this road themselves, under the banner of the *Juche* idea, without any confusion or twists and turns, without any upheaval or instability.

Our Republic has steadily consolidated and developed its foreign relations and has contributed to the common cause of mankind. We derive great satisfaction and pride from the fact that we have stood fast on the independent position that we took up. Our stand is one of principle and consistency: we are not at anyone's beck and call, nor do we dance to anyone else's tune. In addition, we have always maintained an independent position in our efforts to achieve peace and peaceful reunification of the country.

National reunification is a cause to realize the independence of our nation, while the principle of national independence is the inalienable fundamental principle of reunification. Great national unity is part and parcel of the process of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. Great national unity is a fundamental prerequisite to, and an essential factor in, the country's independent and peaceful reunification.

Therefore the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has consistently subordinated everything to the goal of national reunification through great national unity incorporating the principle of national independence. The whole history of the efforts for national reunification and in particular the prevailing situation teach us that the Korean people should move towards greater national unity of the whole nation based on the principle of independence in order to attain the country's reunification.

Of course, there still exist differences in ideologies, ideals and political systems within the nation, but these differences could be overcome without much difficulty, since our nation has its own intrinsic common identity that has been shaped and consolidated through the time-honoured history of 5,000 years. Our nation remains closely knit together by kinship as a homogeneous people, a unique entity in the world, and the whole nation, whether in the north, in the south, or abroad, is united by the common desire for national reunification.

Members of the Korean nation should not be viewed differently based on whether they live in the north, south or abroad, nor should distance be put between Korean nationals just in order to curry favour with foreign forces. We can no longer engage in antagonism and confrontation at the sacrifice of our great cause.

The inter-Korean dialogue has made such epoch-making progress that the Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression, and Cooperation and Exchanges and the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula were adopted and effectuated in our country. This is intended to serve our nation's effort to end the antagonism and confrontation and promote reconciliation and unity and break down the wall of division to pave the way for reunification.

Our nation is unanimous in its desire and aspiration to achieve unity, transcending all differences, and to make a tangible contribution to the country's reunification and the prosperity of the reunified country.

The respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, has personally authored and published the "Ten-Point Programme of Great Unity of the Whole Nation for Reunification of the Country" reflecting the desire and will of our nation to terminate the history of division and confrontation and reunify the country.

This historic programme provides clarification on how to establish a confederal State through the application of the three principles of independence, peace and great national unity, without any bias against either the north or south, on the basis of coexistence and the equal representation of the two regional governments. The confederal State would be independent, peaceful, non-aligned and neutral, maintaining a balanced posture towards the major Powers. It also envisions the protection of private or corporate capital and assets, and joint stock interests with foreign capital before and after reunification. The Ten-Point Programme of Great Unity of the Whole Nation for Reunification of the Country, which aims to bring about the country's reunification on the principle of the spirit of national independence, is a charter of national unity and reunification which reflects most comprehensively the will and the aspirations of the Korean nation and takes into full consideration the current international situation. It calls not only on the supporters of reunification but also on those who have feared or remained onlookers to reunification to take a stand for the cause of national unity and reunification. The programme also opens up positive prospects for achieving the historical cause of the country's reunification within the 1990s. Although obstacles and difficulties still stand in the way of reunification, the entire Korean people will definitely achieve national reunification in great unity, by displaying patriotism and the spirit of national independence.

At present, the relaxation of tension and establishment of peace on the Korean peninsula presents itself as an urgent issue, the solution of which allows for no further delay.

With a view to easing tension and achieving a durable peace on the Korean peninsula, the Korean Armistice Agreement should, *inter alia*, be replaced with a peace agreement. In reality, the Korean Armistice Agreement has already become outdated and the armistice mechanism remains in fact paralysed. The continuance in place of the out-of-date armistice arrangements is primarily responsible for a series of complicated and sensitive issues, including

the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula - issues still remaining to be resolved.

The fact that the state of cease-fire and the armistice arrangements of the 1950s remain unchanged even after 40 years is in itself abnormal. It is thanks to the peace-loving policy and the will of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that peace and security have been maintained so far on the Korean peninsula. Only the replacement of the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement will lead to a full and satisfactory resolution of all the issues, including the nuclear issue, will remove hostility in inter-Korean relations and will work in favour of peace in Korea and its peaceful reunification.

Such being the case, if the United Nations continues losing sight of the fundamental issues related to peace on the Korean peninsula and instead preoccupies itself with non-essential issues, it will only throw obstacles in the way of a solution of the Korean question. The United Nations should direct its primary attention to the replacement of the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement, and play its due role in terminating the armistice system and establishing a new peace arrangement.

We believe this is the right time for the United Nations to make an innovative decision to dissolve the United Nations Forces Command in south Korea and to replace the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement in accordance with resolution 3390 (XXX) B adopted by the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly. In this connection we maintain that negotiations among the parties concerned should begin at the earliest possible time to work out a new peace arrangement that will replace the present armistice system.

The denuclearization of the Korean peninsula is another essential factor in building a durable peace and security there.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea remains committed to its consistent position of turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone. As we have made clear more than once, we have no nuclear weapons; we have neither the intention nor the need to develop these weapons, nor the financial resources to support their production. We would not object to inspection of our nuclear facilities, but only when impartiality is fully guaranteed.

As shown by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea-United States of America talks, the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula is a political issue to be resolved between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America. It is to be recalled that here in New York last June the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America issued a joint statement containing their policy commitments related to a fundamental resolution of the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula.

The joint statement clarifies, in unambiguous terms, principles of assurances against the threat and use of force including nuclear weapons; peace and security in a nuclear-free Korean peninsula, including impartial application of full-scope safeguards, mutual respect for each other's sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs; and support for the peaceful reunification of Korea.

At the second round of talks in Geneva, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea delegation put forward a proposal on replacing its existing graphite-moderated reactors and associated nuclear facilities with light-water moderated reactors, thus demonstrating with more clarity the transparency and integrity of its non-nuclear policy.

If all the commitments the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America have agreed upon are translated into practice - including assurances against the threat and use of force, including nuclear weapons, and the peaceful use of nuclear energy through light-water moderated reactors, plus the negative security assurances - then the prospects will open up for a fundamental and final resolution of the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula and the basis for the improvement of Democratic People's Republic of Korea - United States of America relations will be laid down. Furthermore, epoch-making progress will be made in reducing tensions on the Korean peninsula and in ensuring peace and security in Asia and the rest of the world.

Initial and meaningful progress in the efforts to resolve the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula is the outcome of the negotiations by the responsible parties. This vividly proves that the only way to resolve the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula lies in dialogue and negotiations.

However, we regret to note that a certain amount of pressure has been renewed by those forces that still remain obsessed with an outdated way of thinking at the time when the talks between the Democratic People's Republic

of Korea and the United States of America aimed at resolving the nuclear issue are under way and consultations between our country and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) have been conducted.

The so-called resolution on our "nuclear issue" was adopted at the thirty-seventh session of the General Conference of the IAEA, which was held some time ago. This act cannot but be viewed as the product of political conspiracy to impede, by all means, the solution of nuclear issues through negotiations and to stifle our Republic.

We regard the adoption of the "resolution" itself at the General Conference of the IAEA as a wanton violation of our Republic's sovereignty and part of sinister political offensive aimed at forcing international pressure upon us.

The whole process of the General Conference of the IAEA held recently has eloquently shown that the measures taken in the past by the secretariat and Board of Governors were unjustifiable, and, accordingly, the agency has lost face and integrity in the process of solving the "nuclear issue".

The "nuclear issue" of the Korean peninsula can be resolved only through talks between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America, either in the light of its political character or its origin. Accordingly, two rounds of such talks have been held so far, which is well known to the world. This notwithstanding, it is absurd that the Japanese Prime Minister and the South Korean Foreign Minister picked a quarrel with us in this august Assembly a few days ago, clamouring about "implementing the safeguards agreement" and "international concern about development of nuclear weapons". Japan should not mention the fictitious "development of nuclear weapons", but should give up its attempt to become a military Power and to realize its aim of nuclear armament, which it is accelerating under this pretext.

The south Korean authorities should discontinue nuclear-war exercises with foreign forces against fellow countrymen and should not pursue so-called international mutual assistance systems either.

Our country, as a member of international society, will implement its commitment to the just and early solution of the nuclear issue.

I hope that all the States Members of the United Nations will lend encouragement to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's position in favour of a negotiated resolution of the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula and fully cooperate in taking practical measures to help implement the points agreed upon at the talks between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America.

The peace-loving position of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free peace zone remains unchanged, and we shall continue our sincere efforts in the future, too, to remove the nuclear threat fundamentally and resolve the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula.

Today the world situation and international relations call for an early liquidation of the legacies of the cold-war era that have been negated by history and the prevention of all sorts of attempts to reverse the forward movement of history.

Universal disarmament and the abolition world wide of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction are most urgent in eliminating the residue of the cold-war era and attaining peace and security in the world. Everything that threatens the survival of mankind and the devastation of society's treasures should be abolished.

The recent moratorium on nuclear testing introduced by certain nuclear-weapon States can be called a step forward, in the light of the fact that nuclear testing itself is the most dangerous nuclear arms race among the nuclear Powers and a major source of nuclear proliferation. It is our view that, along with the permanent ban on nuclear testing, epoch-making steps should be taken to destroy a colossal number of the nuclear weapons accumulated on the globe and all sorts of nuclear weapons deployed in other countries. In particular, nuclear weapons deployed on the Korean peninsula and its surrounding regions should be dismantled. Without this solution, any talk about international nuclear non-proliferation and world-wide nuclear disarmament is senseless.

The existence of military blocs and the presence of foreign military bases and troops in other countries are the products of cold-war policy and are permanent factors threatening world peace and security. Now that the old structure of the cold war has collapsed, there is no justification whatsoever for the existence of the military blocs and their means for waging wars of aggression. The military blocs established under the pretext of the so-called balance of forces during the cold-war era should be dissolved. Furthermore, the presence of foreign military

bases and troops in other countries is a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of those nations. This runs counter to the trend towards independence of the present era. We demand the closing of all foreign military bases in various parts of the world and the unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops therefrom.

The peaceful settlement of disputes between countries and nations is one of the important issues in safeguarding world peace and security at present. In different parts of the world we are now witnessing the trampling underfoot of national sovereignty and the escalation of regional, religious and ethnic disputes into full-fledged wars. This has been disturbing peace and security in some regions, and some countries are suffering from severe disasters. Disputes between countries should be resolved through negotiations between the parties concerned in order to meet their mutual interests and serve the cause of world peace.

As long as the structure of the existing inequitable international economic order remains the same, it is impossible to eliminate the ever-widening gap between rich and poor, between the developed and the developing countries and save the developing nations from poverty, disease and disasters. The developed countries must accept responsibility for this and refrain from any actions detrimental to the economic development of the developing countries. This was specifically highlighted in the resolution and recommendations adopted by the Tenth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries. Constructive measures should be taken to resume dialogue between the developed and developing countries, reform the inequitable international economic order and establish a new, equitable international economic order.

Along with this, the developing countries should adopt practical measures to realize South-South cooperation, starting from such priority fields as food, agriculture, public health and so on, in an effort to overcome their economic poverty and establish a South-South economic order.

The historic tasks and responsibilities the United Nations has assumed before mankind are growing heavier with each passing day, and the world watches the role of the United Nations and its activities. The United Nations should be democratized to meet the requirements of the present situation and the aspirations of its Member States, according to the principles of independence, equality and impartiality.

The important point here is that all Member States should be left to fully exercise their sovereignty, regardless of differences in size of population or territory, whether strong or weak, rich or poor. All countries and nations are equal members in international society and are entitled to equal rights.

Mr. El-Araby (Egypt), Vice-President, took the chair.

In the world there are big and small countries, but there cannot be senior or junior countries; there are developed and less developed nations, but there cannot be dominating nations and nations destined to be dominated by others.

We stand against any privileges being given to any particular nation in international relations. We call for universal adherence to the principles of mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of others, for equality and mutual benefits, and for friendship and cooperation among all the countries to be based on these principles.

In the international arena today, some forces are resorting to anachronistic actions; in violation of impartiality and international justice, these forces connive at actions on the part of certain countries that violate international norms on a number of issues, including the nuclear issue, the human rights situation and terrorism, while pretending to be ignorant of them. At the same time, they accuse those countries that disobey them of a "nuclear threat", of "human rights violations" and of "State-sponsored terrorism", imposing unacceptable pressure on them.

Unjustifiable and unreasonable actions by a few countries that resort to strong-arm tactics and high-handed behaviour while interfering in the internal affairs of others and applying a double standard to the practice of international relations must no longer be tolerated.

The United Nations should undergo restructuring and improvement. Such important measures are needed to meet more effectively the changed reality and new challenges.

Primary attention should be paid to reviewing and readjusting the composition of the permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council. As the non-aligned and other developing countries form a majority of the United Nations membership, they should exercise their voice on an equivalent basis and should not be denied

the opportunity to take part in the process of resolving major international issues. We hold that the third world countries should, as a matter of course, be included in the permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council, in proportion to the numbers of their members in the Organization.

At present, Japan is launching a public relations campaign to gain a seat as a permanent member of the Security Council. But Japan is not assuming its due responsibility for the acts of aggression and war crimes committed during the Second World War and has so far failed to make a clean slate of its past. Therefore, it is not reasonable to talk about its qualification for permanent membership.

Only when the United Nations measures up to its own responsibilities and role on an unprejudiced basis can it take its rightful place as the international Organization that serves international justice and champions world peace; only then will it be able to meet the expectations of its Member States.

The destiny of each country and nation is closely interlinked with the common destiny of mankind.

The world's people advocating independence should work together in unity to consolidate their respective national independence, to further their countries' independent development, and to contribute actively to a stronger world peace and security.

We fully support the Cambodian people in their efforts to promote national reconciliation, unity and rehabilitation, as we do the peoples of the member States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations in their endeavours to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia, and we support other Asian people in their struggle to build a new, independent, peaceful and prosperous Asia.

We would like to express our firm solidarity with the Palestinian and all the other Arab peoples who are engaged in efforts towards a fair and lasting solution of the Middle East question, including the Palestinian question; to the entire African people in their struggle to overcome socio-economic difficulties and achieve the independent development of their countries; to the Cuban people in their struggle to defend the country's sovereignty and dignity and the gains of socialism; and to the Latin American peoples in their efforts towards peace and prosperity.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people will offer active support and firm solidarity to the people of all countries throughout the world who are struggling to oppose all sorts of domination and subjugation, to build a new society and to promote the common cause of mankind.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is guided by its consistent ideals of independence, peace and friendship in international relations, and these ideals coincide with the ideals of international society.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea will continue to hold fast to independence, to further strengthen contacts and cooperation with United Nations Member States, and to remain faithful to the common cause of mankind for global independence.

The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea wishes, in conclusion, to express its hope that at its current session the General Assembly will have a successful discussion of all the agenda items placed before it at this session through the concerted efforts of all the representatives of the various countries, thus contributing to building a new, free and peaceful world.

Mr. PAREDES (Ecuador) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I am pleased to convey my congratulations to Ambassador Samuel Insanally, the Permanent Representative of Guyana and a distinguished member of our Latin American and Caribbean Group, on his well-deserved election as President of the General Assembly.

A short while ago, we were hailing the end of the cold war. There seemed to be a fresh possibility of building a new international order based on sound moral principles, namely the principles of justice, law, freedom and democracy.

The Gulf crisis, caused by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, offered the international community an opportunity to react resolutely to restore the rights thus violated. The principles of condemnation of the use or the threat of the use of force as a means of settling disputes were underscored. The inadmissibility and illegitimacy of the acquisition of territories through force were reaffirmed. The principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes and respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States were strengthened. Ecuador was gratified to see the resultant reinforcement of the fundamental and age-old pillars of its international policy.

The world today aspires more firmly and decisively to live in freedom and democracy and in an atmosphere of full respect for human rights.

This fundamental change has allowed the spread, not only of positive forces, but also of underlying conflicts which, within various regions, have set off apparently uncontainable escalation.

The United Nations, whose prestige had reached new heights, was facing increasingly numerous, pressing and complex problems. Extreme nationalism had flared up in the Balkans and elsewhere, while the breakdown of authority had given rise to tragic humanitarian situations in Somalia and in other regions. In Cambodia, the Organization had to contribute to rebuilding the State.

The problems have not disappeared; on the contrary, they proliferate in the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and in the former Soviet Union. The large numbers of refugees created by war serve as a pretext for extremist, nationalist and xenophobic ideologies to arise in the very heart of Europe.

The world, which applauded United Nations action on the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, is examining with a critical eye the Organization's inaction and ineffectiveness in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Bonn, the graffiti read, "Europe is dying in Sarajevo". In the Iraq-Kuwait conflict, the use of force and the acquisition of territory by force was condemned, but it seems that in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina the use of force is being allowed to yield results and to expand the territory of the aggressor. Here is a clear illustration that international morality is opposed to double standards of action.

In that context, Ecuador views as vital the work under way to restructure and strengthen the world Organization. The General Assembly must shoulder with greater authority its responsibilities as the most representative democratic organ of the United Nations. The Security Council needs to be restructured to reflect the striking changes in the membership of the United Nations and to ensure that it is more representative and, hence, more legitimate. We commend all the steps being taken to that end, and we support others that still need to be taken to ensure that the work of the Council is characterized by vision and transparency. We think that its membership should be expanded, within limits ensuring that its work will be effective and aimed at the democratization of the Organization. Democratizing participation in the Council's work requires the presence of States of special significance on the international scene, such as Germany and Japan, and of representatives of other geographical areas not now properly represented.

The work of the United Nations in the economic and social fields should be strengthened and made more effective. We must not forget that peace is threatened not only by military aggression but also, and even more, by situations of injustice or crisis that ought to be settled in a spirit of international solidarity. For that reason, Ecuador looks forward to seeing as soon as possible the report the General Assembly has requested of the Secretary-General, on an agenda for development.

Ecuador was pleased by the results of the recent World Conference on Human Rights. We believe that the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action constitute an important step forward towards recognizing the universal nature of human rights. The right to development is universal and inalienable. Ecuador appeals to all States to make an effort to implement the goals and purposes of the Vienna Programme of Action.

Ecuador is deeply gratified by the positive developments in South Africa. We hope that the elections scheduled for 1994 will mark the conclusive establishment of a democratic, non-racial, pluralistic society truly free and open to progress.

The most important element of progress may well be social development. For that reason, Ecuador firmly supported the initiative to convene the World Summit for Social Development. We reiterate our backing for the international community's decision, which will add meaning to the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations.

The world economy is at a difficult stage. Even the developed economies are in deep crisis. We must adopt a new monetary and fiscal policy aimed at promoting short-term recovery and at eliminating structural imbalances in the medium term. It is vital to coordinate the macro-economic policies of the strongest countries in order to promote world economic growth. It is necessary also to take account of the legitimate interests of all countries, especially developing countries.

It will be impossible to maintain and bolster our democracies without at the same time engaging in economic and social programmes aimed at improved living standards for all. In addressing these issues we should not rely solely on old economic statistical systems, but should

turn to systems that evaluate the quality of life, such as that proposed by the United Nations Development Programme.

I would recall that a country's domestic policies play a dominant part in its development process. Ecuador has decided to carry out serious and thorough structural reforms that will permit greater scope for private enterprise and individual initiative and that will reduce Government intervention wherever it has proved to be ineffective and inappropriate.

Economic development is meaningful when it addresses human reality. To achieve this, we must be firmly committed to modernizing the State and, by our example, ensuring that morality prevails in the work of the Government.

But national efforts to modernize the State and open the economy to the universal trend towards freedom require timely, adequate financial support. This should be obtained, basically, by establishing a trading system making possible fair prices for commodities and other exports of developing countries. Ironically, while they make splendid speeches in favour of free trade, the powerful countries continue to impose measures that contradict their fine words. One example is the import barriers on Latin American bananas imposed by the European Economic Community.

We are concerned about what results will issue from the Uruguay Round of negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). We need transparent machinery to fight protectionism; this must result from true international negotiations.

For many countries, certainly including Ecuador, the external debt continues to be one of the most serious problems and one that has the heaviest negative impact, not only in the economic but also in the social and even political fields. We must review the financial policies of the international credit agencies and complement their resources with direct private investment, so that the flow of capital from the developing world to the developed countries does not, as has happened to date, exceed the amount of aid or investment channelled to the developing countries.

Prudent and appropriate regulation of the environment and development is a task that concerns and interests us all. We must promote sustainable development that will meet humanity's needs today without jeopardizing the rights of future generations. The Rio Conference is of far-reaching importance and the fulfilment of the decisions and commitments undertaken there is crucial. Agenda 21 is a historic document requiring political resolve on the part of all if it is to be put into effect. In that regard, the establishment and consolidation of financial sources is essential.

In the context of international security it is vitally important that all international agreements concluded within the framework of the International Atomic Energy Agency be strictly complied with, and that the inspection systems be strengthened to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

In this respect, we support all efforts to create new nuclear-weapon-free zones and we voice our concern at any failure to comply with the resolutions relating to the Korean peninsula. We urge the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to heed the just demands of the international community.

Today, I have heard with great concern of a possible breach of the moratorium on nuclear testing by the People's Republic of China. If that information is confirmed, it will represent a grave step backwards in the process of establishing moratoriums on nuclear testing. We hope that it will not trigger a rush to new testing on the part of other nuclear Powers.

In Latin America, democracy and freedom have been strengthened. It is our hope that, by means of the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination, Latin American will soon be free of the remaining exceptions.

The case of Haiti is particularly disquieting. Respect for democracy and human values is a basic pillar of civilized coexistence. Ecuador believes that the joint action of the international community must encourage a new phase that will provide the Haitian people with certain basic guarantees.

Throughout its history, Ecuador has demonstrated its peaceful spirit in true and unquestionable terms. In that spirit, it participated in the United Nations Observer Group in Central America and the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador. It continues to support the latter and has offered its forces for other peace-keeping operations.

The proliferation of peace-keeping operations has highlighted the need to carry out a careful review of the

conditions in which these operations are created and carried out and the limits of their respective mandates. This Organization should set the example of austerity in fund management in order to enhance its moral authority and its effectiveness.

In the light of its special links with Latin America, Ecuador attaches particular importance to its relations with neighbouring countries. Our Government has strengthened and expanded its traditional relations with Colombia, and they have recently been evolving with great promise.

A similar process is under way between the Governments of Ecuador and Peru. The Presidents of Ecuador and Peru have given repeated and eloquent proof of their political resolve to make progress in the process of dialogue that has opened between the two countries. This process will enable us to ensure a climate of friendship, trust and understanding and to narrow the differences in our positions on the territorial issue. Together we can make significant steps towards promoting the well-being of our peoples, and as we move towards understanding we will be able to overcome the differences which have long been an obstacle in the way of a new era of fruitful coexistence.

The Government of Ecuador was pleased and very grateful to note the demonstrations of support from many countries, particularly American ones, for our dialogue with Peru. We also appreciated the message that His Holiness Pope John Paul II addressed to President Sixto Durán Ballén and President Alberto Fujimori on the occasion of their meeting in Bahía de Caráques in December 1992.

Ecuador, by tradition and inclination, has been a peace-loving nation and believes that the only valid way to overcome the territorial differences persisting between it and Peru lies in the peaceful settlement of disputes. One option in that regard is the arbitration of His Holiness the Pope, who, with his lofty moral authority and his enduring devotion to understanding and harmony among peoples, is extremely well qualified. That is why the Constitutional President of Ecuador, Sixto Durán Ballén, speaking from this very rostrum at the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, reiterated the initiative which former Ecuadorian President Rodrigo Borja set forth at the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly concerning the arbitration of the Holy See.

In response to this initiative and in keeping with the spirit of dialogue that has been maintained and cultivated between the two countries, the President of Peru proposed the participation of the Holy See through the mediation of an expert adviser who would offer his opinion from the point of view of that neighbouring and friendly country with respect to the "frontier disputes" with Ecuador.

We now have two proposals that are distinct in scope and content: on the one hand, arbitration, and on the other the assistance of an expert adviser. But they coincide in their recognition of the great help to be had from the Pontiff, who in the course of history has traditionally worked for *rapprochement* and understanding among peoples. These very differences and varied proposals highlight the need to preserve and strengthen the process of dialogue between the two countries. Ecuador is faithfully committed to that process with a view not only to finding the fairest, most realistic and honourable solution to the problem, but also in order to respond appropriately to all the possibilities for complementary action, cooperation and joint endeavour that these two countries could and should pursue with a view to securing the development, integration and well-being for their peoples.

Thus, we shall no longer be divided by borders and borders will become points of union and of promising cooperation, with tremendous scope and possibilities. This has been the case with regard to the maritime area that we share; this is the hope of the two peoples, especially the peoples of southern Ecuador and northern Peru; this must be the case with regard to the Amazon River meeting for a historic reconciliation of our two nations that adequately meets the major interests of the two countries in the Amazon region and identifies them in plans that take account of their individual and collective rights, enhance their potential and create conditions reflecting the importance of a major river system and a region that all the countries of the basin must preserve and promote for the sake of current development as well as the future well-being of our peoples.

In this spirit of frank and constructive dialogue, President Sixto Durán Ballén accepted the kind invitation of President Alberto Fujimori to visit Peru. Ecuador's Foreign Ministry is busy making preparations with the authorities of that friendly country for this mission so that the greatest possible success may be achieved.

A few days ago the world enthusiastically welcomed the handshake between two courageous men who had opted for peace and understanding. I should like, on behalf of Ecuador, to pay tribute to Prime Minister

Itzhak Rabin and President Yasser Arafat. I am confident that this gesture, this historic event, will be not only the beginning of a tough but promising relationship aimed at securing understanding and cooperation between the two peoples but also a signal, a sign of the times, for many other peoples who have to pursue the arduous path of peace and understanding.

For this reason, President Clinton was absolutely right when, on that historic morning, he said:

> "We know that a difficult path lies before us. Every peace has its own enemies - those who always prefer the easy attitudes of hatred to the hard task of reconciliation."

Ecuador believes in peace and trusts in peace and understanding. Hence, I wish to associate myself with the noble words of Cardinal Antonio Samoré, the delegate of the Holy Father in the Papal mediation between the fraternal countries of Argentina and Chile, in his speech at the time of the signing, in Montevideo, of the commitment between the two countries:

> "I say to all of you - Christians, believers and men of good will: do not be afraid to opt for peace, to educate for peace. The aspiration to peace will never be disappointed. The endeavour to achieve peace inspired by charity that never fails will yield its fruits. Peace will be the last word in history."

Against this background, and with a view to ensuring that these efforts are made in an appropriate climate of genuine understanding and harmony and will be effective, I formally take the opportunity, at this rostrum, to propose to the Government of Peru that, reaffirming the commitment that both countries have made in accordance with many existing international instruments - principally, the United Nations Charter - we give our word of honour that, in our mutual relations, we shall not resort to force or to the threat of the use of force. Such a solemn commitment would underscore an essential legal obligation and amount to an eloquent additional means of promoting mutual trust; and it would be an appropriate framework for continued dialogue on the path of peace and understanding, with a view to achieving, as soon as possible, a fair, honourable and lasting settlement between the two countries.

Mr. MUSYOKA (Kenya): May I, at the outset, take this opportunity to extend our most sincere condolences and deepest sympathy to the delegation, Government and people of India following the earthquake disaster, which has left thousands of people dead and many villages destroyed. We share the grief of the people of India at this sorrowful and tragic time.

I should like to join those representatives who have already congratulated Mr. Insanally of Guyana on his unanimous election as President of the General Assembly of the United Nations at its forty-eighth session. His election to this high office is a demonstration of the confidence that the Member States have in him and of their respect for his country, Guyana. We are confident that, under his wise guidance, our deliberations in this session will achieve the desired results.

I also wish to pay tribute to Mr. Insanally's predecessor, Mr. Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria, for steering the forty-seventh session to a successful conclusion.

We commend the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, too for the skilful and competent manner in which he is directing the Organization.

Allow me to take this opportunity to congratulate the Members that were admitted to the Organization during the past year. Their admission strengthens the ideal of the universality of the United Nations. We assure them of our willingness to work closely with them in our common efforts to create a better world.

The end of the cold war created an unprecedented opportunity to increase international cooperation with a view to achieving international peace and security and promoting the socio-economic progress envisaged in the United Nations Charter. However, the new challenges emerging on the global scene demand that the international community summon up the will and imagination to overcome them.

The disappearance of the great ideological rivalry between East and West has resulted in a sense of soberness and improvement in relations between States. It has also led to a reduction in tensions and to significant progress in the area of disarmament, thereby creating opportunities for the conversion of massive resources to peaceful uses.

Peace and security, however, is not merely the absence of war or the threat of war; it is the absence of conditions that threaten the enjoyment of life and social harmony. The United Nations now has an opportunity to put fully into effect the system of security envisaged in its

peaceful settlement of disputes and collective action in pursuit of international peace and the maintenance of global security. Equally important, the world has an opportunity to build pillars of peace by tackling sources of instability in the economic, social, humanitarian and ecological fields.

The brutal war in Bosnia, the destruction of Somalia and the protracted civil wars in Angola and elsewhere confirm the futility of the use of force as a means of solving disputes.

The ratification of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I) by the Governments of the United States of America and the Russian Federation and their signing of the START II Agreements in January 1993 are significant developments in disarmament. The primary responsibility for nuclear disarmament rests with those States that possess the nuclear arsenals. Kenya, however, strongly believes that the international community as a whole must be involved and should contribute to measures intended to achieve nuclear disarmament and the non-proliferation of all weapons of mass destruction.

Contrary to expectations, the collapse of the bipolar world order has not given way to a new order of peace and democracy and improved socio-economic situations. The emerging order has raised new challenges and new approaches to solutions. As Members of the United Nations family, we need to redouble our efforts with vision and determination to balance both short- and long-term interests as we struggle to shape the new order.

In many parts of the world, we are confronted with assertions of nationalism coupled with territorial claims. As the Secretary-General puts it in his Agenda for Peace,

> "... the cohesion of States is threatened by brutal ethnic, religious, social, cultural and linguistic strife". *(A/47/277, para. 11)*

Kenya subscribes to the thrust of the Agenda for Peace as elaborated during the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, on the basis of which a draft resolution will be adopted during this session. The elaboration of the Agenda for Peace should take into account the principles of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of nation-States.

The new approach will widen and deepen the scope of the United Nations in the promotion of the peaceful settlement of disputes and the maintenance of peace and security. In this regard, Kenya urges the full exploitation of the potential of the International Court of Justice in the adjudication of disputes between States as a potential transparent and cost-effective means of conflict resolution.

The case of Somalia is particularly distressing. We strongly believe that keeping United Nations peace-keeping personnel in Somalia is critical to the pursuit of peace and security in that country. We note with appreciation the Secretary-General's report that, despite several incidences of violence in Mogadishu, there are improvements in the overall situation, including eradication of starvation, establishment of a large number of district councils, opening of schools and resumption of normal life in most areas of the country.

We also welcome Security Council resolution 865 (1993) of 22 September, by which the Council, *inter alia*, invites the Secretary-General to consult the countries of the region and regional organizations concerned on means of further reinvigorating the reconciliation process. We believe that the regional peace initiatives can effectively complement the United Nations efforts in facilitating reconciliation between all the factions in Somalia.

The highest priority is to assist the people of Somalia in furthering the national reconciliation process and to promote and advance the re-establishment of regional and national institutions and civil administration in the entire country, as set out in Security Council resolution 814 (1993). This requires improvement of the dialogue between the United Nations personnel in Somalia and the general Somali public as an essential element in confidence-building to facilitate reconciliation between the various factions.

Kenya shares an 800-kilometre-long border with Somalia. In many ways, we are extremely exposed to the Somalia problem. Somalia is a sister country with which we share family relations as well as ethnic and cultural affinities. The very heavy influx of Somali refugees into Kenya has had a devastating effect on the most ecologically fragile parts of the country. The border region has suffered serious environmental destruction as a result of excessive cutting of trees for building materials and firewood. The physical and social infrastructures have been overstretched by excessive usage and overloading.

Most seriously, our people and security personnel have been subjected to numerous acts of banditry by armed gangs crossing into Kenya from Somalia, causing general

insecurity in the border region. We have continued to lose both civilians and security personnel at an unacceptably high rate as a result of attacks by bandits. Huge numbers of livestock and huge quantities of other property have also been lost to them.

As peace is being restored in Somalia, we are cooperating with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to accelerate the voluntary repatriation of refugees. At the same time, we are requesting the United Nations and the donor community to urgently assist Kenya with programmes for the rehabilitation of the physical and social infrastructures as well as for the restoration of the ecosystem in the region.

We are also requesting the Secretary-General to reinforce the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) patrols along the Somali side of the border so as to complement the efforts of the Kenyan security personnel on our side. We believe that the joint security efforts will significantly scale down the flow of armed gangs and individuals into Kenya.

Sudan is another neighbouring country that has for a long time now been suffering devastating civil strife. The problem has been of great concern not only to the neighbouring countries but also to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations. There is an urgent need for the United Nations to support the ongoing regional efforts spearheaded by Presidents Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Afwerki of Eritrea and Zenawi of Ethiopia under the chairmanship of President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya. We appeal to all parties involved in the conflict to be flexible in the search for a just and lasting solution.

Elsewhere in our continent, efforts to find solutions to ethnic and other conflicts have shown encouraging trends. We are confident that the people of Mozambique, Rwanda and Liberia will realize their dreams of peace through the process of dialogue. Greater involvement by the United Nations in the Rwandese peace process is pertinent at this stage. It is essential that the peace accords signed in these countries be honoured by all the parties, with effective support from the United Nations, the OAU and regional bodies, and with generous assistance from friendly countries.

The situation in Angola is very disturbing. The ongoing bloodshed could easily have been avoided if the UNITA leadership had accepted the verdict of the people in the elections. We appeal to UNITA to agree to a dialogue for a peaceful political solution, with the mediation and increased support of the United Nations, OAU and the sponsors of the Peace Accords.

We are also greatly encouraged by the developments that have taken place in South Africa. The agreement reached for the creation of the Transitional Executive Council and the setting of a date for the first democratic elections pave the way for the establishment of a truly non-racial, democratic South Africa. We support the recent call by Mr. Nelson Mandela, the President of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), for all diplomatic and economic sanctions against South Africa to be lifted.

The recently concluded, momentous agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) marks a turning point in the process of finding a just and lasting solution to the Palestinian and, indeed, the Middle East problem. We are encouraged by the assurances that this is the first tangible step towards the establishment of a Palestinian State alongside Israel. We wish the Palestinian and Israeli people happy and peaceful coexistence.

Further afield, we welcome the successful holding of the elections under United Nations auspices in Cambodia, the conclusion of the Governors Island Agreement on the restoration of a democratically elected Government of Haiti, and the progress towards the establishment of lasting peace in El Salvador.

The experience of Somalia and other regional conflicts convinces us that there is an urgent need for the United Nations to re-evaluate the existing international control systems for conventional-weapon production and trade. The widespread availability of deadly conventional weapons constitutes the most important factor in the prolongation of regional and civil conflicts.

With its increased responsibilities and challenges, the United Nations needs to be restructured and revitalized so that it can effectively discharge its responsibilities. It must also be provided with adequate resources. The tasks ahead demand that the energy and attention of all components of the United Nations be engaged fully and appropriately.

The General Assembly must be enabled to play its full role in decisions affecting international peace and security. There is a need to establish a balanced relationship between the Assembly and the other principal organs of the

United Nations, and to ensure logical accountability of the principal organs, in particular the Security Council.

The Security Council must also be reformed so that it is more transparent, more representative and more democratic in its decision-making process, while at the same time its effectiveness is ensured.

The ongoing restructuring and revitalization of the Economic and Social Council and the United Nations in the economic, social and related fields should strengthen the Council and enable it to play a central role in providing policy recommendations to the General Assembly. Similarly, the ongoing efforts to restructure the Secretariat must be balanced and accord appropriate priority to development concerns. Operational activities of the Organization must be provided with adequate resources on a sustainable basis to enable it effectively to promote socio-economic progress in accordance with its Charter.

Peace-keeping operations have increasingly become among the most utilized and widely acceptable instruments of the Organization, especially in discharging its primary responsibility in the maintenance of international peace and security. The operations have also increasingly taken on new and broader assignments and responsibilities. Kenya is happy to be closely associated with peace-keeping operations. We have contributed military and police personnel to many peace-keeping operations world wide. The enormous rise in the number and scope of peace-keeping operations requires that the ability of the Secretariat to manage such large-scale operations be strengthened and also that Member States be ready to finance the operations.

In this connection, the serious concerns expressed by the Secretary-General and his urgent appeals to Member States to pay arrears of contributions must receive a concrete and speedy response from all the Members of this Organization. The formula for apportioning contributions should reflect the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council and of other developed countries and take into account the relatively limited capacities of developing countries. A dramatic change in the formula of contributions could, I submit, complicate further the problem of arrears. The establishment of the peace-keeping reserve fund would go a long way towards making peace-keeping operations more efficient. In this regard, a timely and effective response by the United Nations will largely depend on the availability of adequate resources, at least in the initial stages, to cater for the critical time lost in negotiations for the financing of peace-keeping operations. It is also important that a formula be developed to establish a more predictable financial basis for the peace-keeping operations.

The uncertainty prevailing in the world economy today is a cause for serious concern. Insufficient growth in the developed countries has contributed to the unfavourable external conditions that threaten the political, economic and social stability of many developing countries. These include renewed pressures for increased protectionism, falling commodity prices and the decline in financial flows, among other conditions. Despite the far-reaching economic and political reforms which have been put in place by most African countries in the last three years, the situation continues to be grim, since the region continues to experience economic growth of less than 2 per cent. The current trends, if not reversed, threaten to marginalize further the participation of African countries in the global economy.

The liberalization of the African economies and the hard work of the African people are not in themselves sufficient to transform the socio-economic situation in Africa. The continent is not playing the international economic game with other continents on a level ground. We wish, therefore, to underscore the need for the international community to seize the opportunity created by the positive changes taking place on the continent and give Africa real support so that the gains made for economic and democratic reform will be sustainable.

At the same time, African countries should continue to strengthen their regional integration efforts within the regional bodies already established, such as the Preferential Trade Area for the Eastern and Southern African Countries (PTA), the Inter-Governmental Authority for Drought and Development (IGADD) in the Horn of Africa, and the ongoing efforts to revive East African cooperation.

Our experience in Kenya in implementing structural adjustment programmes is that the reforms have inherent negative short-term effects, particularly on the poor and the other vulnerable members of society. These include the fall in their purchasing power owing to the liberalization of prices, job losses through a reduction of manpower in the public sector, and the reduction of government expenditure on such essential social services as health, education and other infrastructures. The donor community needs, therefore, to balance the aid conditionalities with the socio-economic realities obtaining in the countries implementing structural adjustment programmes,

particularly by addressing the social dimensions of such programmes in concrete and human terms.

The United Nations new agenda for the development of Africa in the 1990s, adopted by the General Assembly at its forty-sixth session, commits the international community to implement concrete and effective measures to support Africa's own efforts in the process of economic reforms and development. The success of the implementation of the programme will depend, first, on the efforts of the African countries themselves and, secondly, on the back-up resources from multilateral and bilateral donors. We are concerned that these resources are shrinking owing to diversion and what appears to be a subtle disengagement from Africa.

The acute external debt of African countries and the heavy and unbearable burden of servicing that debt are among the matters on which concrete action is needed. The burden of debt-servicing drains the continent of over $10 billion annually, thus diverting resources badly needed for investment and alleviation of poverty.

On trade, it is gratifying to note that, after six months of stalemate, multilateral negotiations of the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) have resumed. We emphasize, however, that the outcome of the negotiations should be balanced to take account of the particular needs of the poor developing countries.

The World Conference on Human Rights, which was held in Vienna, Austria, in June this year, marked a significant watershed for the international community on the important question of human rights. That Conference emphasized that human rights are interdependent and indivisible. It recognized development as a basic human right. Democracy, development and human rights go hand in hand, as experience has shown that it is difficult to guarantee some basic rights, especially economic and social rights, in situations of abject poverty.

As I emphasized in my statement at that Conference, the existing international institutions for human rights need strengthening. At the same time, developing countries require support and assistance to strengthen their domestic institutions and build strong foundations for the rule of law and the administration of justice.

Since the Rio Conference on Environment and Development, Governments and international agencies have focused their attention on the implementation of Agenda 21. The first substantive meeting of the Commission on Sustainable Development, held in June this year, made tangible progress in adopting crucial decisions on its work programme. Kenya welcomes the progress being made towards ensuring the effectiveness of the Global Environmental Facility as an important instrument for funding incremental costs related to the implementation of Agenda 21. However, we are concerned that adequate financial resources for the implementation of the programme have fallen short of expectations. On institutional arrangements, while Kenya supports the mandate given to the Commission on Sustainable Development in regard to monitoring progress in the implementation of Agenda 21, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) must continue to play a central role owing to the experience and expertise it has accumulated over the years in the area of the environment. The need to strengthen UNEP to enable it to participate effectively in the implementation of Agenda 21 can therefore not be overemphasized.

Accordingly, the conference facilities at UNEP Headquarters in Nairobi must be put to full use. It is neither economically sound nor in keeping with the objective of strengthening UNEP to have many meetings initiated by the Organization held outside its Headquarters. As a host country, Kenya shall continue to provide all the necessary assistance to UNEP to enable it to play its central and, indeed, its rightful role.

As the Secretariat of the United Nations undergoes restructuring, we should be mindful of the mandates of various agencies and bodies in order to avoid the possibility of losing the original objective. Kenya is concerned that the role of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), whose Headquarters are in Nairobi, is being eroded by the undue delay in filling the post of Executive Director, despite the concerns expressed by the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session. The filling of the post will give the required impetus to the Habitat secretariat.

Mr. Pursoo (Grenada), Vice-President, took the Chair.

As to the social issues, I wish to assure members of our cooperation with the international community in the preparatory work for the forthcoming Conference on Population and Development, to be held next year; the Fourth World Conference on Women, also to be held in 1994; and the World Summit for Social Development, set for 1995. We need to put all our energies into the

preparatory work of these Conferences to ensure that they achieve their intended objectives.

In conclusion, the international community, through this Assembly, must make every effort to face these challenges and many more which are yet to come. We owe it to posterity and to future generations to leave this world a better place to live in. We have neither excuses nor reasons to fail. And if we do fail, history will judge us harshly. In this endeavour, our differences should strengthen rather than weaken us, for in unity lies our strength. In the words of our beloved President, His Excellency Daniel Teroitich Arap Moi, love, peace and unity are the pillars for development and progress.

Mr. SHIHMURADOV (Turkmenistan) (*interpretation from Russian*): First of all, I should like to congratulate the President on his assumption of his important post at the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

I should also like to express my gratitude for making it possible for me to comply with the instructions of the President of Turkmenistan, Mr. Niyazov, and the entire Turkmen population in speaking to the world community. A unique situation prevails in the world today. There are no longer two inimical camps, and we virtually have eliminated the most pressing problem of global nuclear conflict. Furthermore, ridding ourselves of the ideological yoke has freed us from internal conflicts and contradictions. As political scientists said after the end of the standoff between the two blocs, we now have on the world agenda urgent problems - new and bloody regional and internal conflicts, which are no less dangerous to the world than a global confrontation.

What are the reasons for this seemingly unfathomable outbreak of aggressiveness and conflict? In our view, the answer to this question can be found in the lack of political pragmatism and in a failure to understand realities. One of the major reasons is the lack of a deep-seated political culture and of restraint, and the desire to do everything at once. But there are no miracles. We need political courage, which has been demonstrated by the President of Turkmenistan, in order to avoid the pitfalls of unrealistic decisions, something which might, to put it mildly, lead to social disappointment.

From the very first days of our independent existence, Turkmenistan found itself faced with a whole series of difficult and unique problems, which were determined by the special characteristics of its attaining statehood. Proclaiming its sovereignty and independence is only the starting-point for a lengthy process which is to lead to the establishment of an efficient political system, a strong national economy and a workable social structure. For this, we need essentially not just reforms but a full reorientation of the political system and of the economy. I should like to emphasize especially this aspect, since at the same time very difficult reforms will be needed in other areas as well.

The natural economic and social development of our people was interrupted for seven long decades. As a result, people lost the notion of private property, and their ways of thinking and social morals became out of touch. This is an important aspect, and we should bear this mind in establishing new States on a new legal basis.

At the present time, the most important possessions of all the citizens of Turkmenistan are independence and the opportunity to solve their problems independently. Perhaps this would seem to be axiomatic, but as we see it, of the entire system of priorities formulated by the Government of our country, this is the most desirable in the current circumstances prevailing in Turkmenistan and in the area.

In order to achieve large-scale reforms of the political and economic system in Turkmenistan, a programme of "10 years of stability" has been adopted. What are the tasks of that programme? First and foremost, to wean the economy away from the notion of State property, in particular from a foodstuff-dominated economy and production towards the production of prepared products. The second is the formation of the political, economic, social, spiritual and cultural life of the State, without the infamous system - inherited from the past - of roles played out in advance. Thirdly is the formation and development of democratic institutions, including a multi-party system. Against the background of these processes, we see social psychology transformed, away from political apathy and the lack of responsibility.

In this regard, we are trying to pursue our policy in such a way that we would strengthen our ability to avoid social upheaval, breakdowns in all sectors of society and the lack of social harmony. This is not easy. The people of Turkmenistan need unity and solidarity. This gives us hope for the future, however. Pragmatism will be a determinant in overcoming our difficulties in establishing the major criteria for Turkmenistan's current foreign policy. In solving these economic problems, we are offering to our foreign partners businesslike cooperation without any ideological or political passions, and we have found understanding everywhere. The logical outcome of

this development has led us to the formulation of a foreign-policy concept of positive neutrality, which is in keeping with the national interests of our State and in the interest of maintaining peace and stability in the region.

In solving military problems, we have been guided by our neutral status, which stems from the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the recognition of territorial integrity and the inviolability of their borders. It is well known that sometimes the concept of non-interference can be questionable or even rejected. But in our view, a new independent State in Europe and Asia also needs conditions for the peaceful resolution of its internal problems in order to achieve civil calm and in order to find the necessary compromises. Obviously, based on military force, we cannot achieve development and progress in the broad sense of the word. And we need to move away from internationalizing the internal problems of various States through military force. At the same time, we support the peace-keeping actions of the United Nations and other international organizations.

These are the factors that determine our view of events in Tajikistan. I can state that our position has found support and understanding among other countries. We have reached agreement with the leadership of Iran on a new agreement, one of the most important conditions of which is the transformation of the 1,500-kilometre border between Iran and Turkmenistan into a border of peace and cooperation. We are actively engaged in political dialogue with the central Government of Afghanistan and also with the authorities of the northern and north-western provinces.

Such a policy has brought positive results. Recently we signed a three-party memorandum on the construction of a railroad from Turkmenistan to Pakistan through Afghanistan. In addition, Afghanistan will see the first major railroad in its history. We will make it possible, therefore, to have an outlet to the ports of the Indian Ocean through the States of Central Asia and Europe.

Speaking of relations with our neighbours, we must especially emphasize the role of Russia in the creation of an independent Turkmenistan. We well understand that this process began in Russia and was initiated by its leadership. A high degree of understanding at the level of leadership and the traditional mutual respect of our peoples has established a lasting basis for the development of mutually advantageous bilateral cooperation on new and equitable bases. In speaking of this, I should like from this rostrum to state that Turkmenistan supports the efforts of the leadership of Russia to establish order and to establish conditions for the active continuation of political reforms and the full dismantling of the totalitarian system and its replacement with a system chosen by the people.

Turkmenistan is actively developing relations with Turkey, Austria, the United Kingdom, Indonesia, Pakistan, Malaysia, Germany, France, Argentina and Italy, and constructive dialogue with the United States is under way. President Niyazov's recent visit to Belgium laid the groundwork for new cooperation between Turkmenistan and the countries of the European Community and between Turkmenistan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We are also opening a number of Turkmenistan Embassies abroad. In short, our country is actively involved in international relations.

We support those agreements that will lead to an end of confrontation and make possible peaceful and constructive dialogue. Among those agreements, we note with satisfaction the recent changes in the relationship between Israel and the PLO.

Turkmenistan's geopolitical situation - our country is a member of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and is at the same time connected by deep historical and cultural roots to the Middle and Far East - enables us, in view of our country's stability, to play a constructive role in bridging the gap between two major regions of the world.

I should like to say a few words on Turkmenistan's position *vis-à-vis* the Commonwealth of Independent States. Turkmenistan is in favour of the Commonwealth, in favour of the development of integrationist processes and, while it opposed the establishment of any kind of rigid centralized system in the past it is in favour of coordinating structures.

In our view, the coming forth today of super-national formations has held back the process of independence and has now led back to the former system of decision by force. In States that have arisen since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, we now see respect for national interests alone, and we see only the bare beginnings of a process of inter-State relations on new, qualitatively different bases. The statehood of these countries is a difficult matter, and this process must respect national specificities and social and economic factors. If all these factors are borne in mind, any kind of rigid coordinating structure is impossible. Attempts artificially to impose positions and a unified model for development on new independent States cannot but work against sovereignty and national

interests. In the final analysis, such an approach would lead to the establishment of a new centre.

From the very outset, Turkmenistan actively attempted to develop relations with the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States on the basis of bilateral relations and various types of agreements, in view of the fact that the Commonwealth is primarily a consultative mechanism that gives us the opportunity to exchange ideas and experience and to lay down programmes of action. We feel that such an approach is more flexible and therefore more effective. Experience has shown that at this current stage - and I emphasize, at this current stage - bilateral agreements are a more reliable basis for solving problems as they arise.

We often see the example of the European Community, and, supposedly, the same thing could happen in our region. To my mind, anyone who tries to achieve what the European Community has done over 40 years is not taking into account some essential factors: the high-level starting-point of the unification of Europe, the very different market basis of its economies and what might be called the European psychology. We have none of these factors.

It is important to establish the fact that if we cannot count on our future relations, the Commonwealth of Independent of States has no prospects. We in Turkmenistan believe, and have always believed, that a solution should be found within the framework of the Commonwealth, should be adopted by consensus and should be very broad and based primarily on economic feasibility and attractiveness. This will be only the first step, and it needs to be followed by others on a higher level of integration.

But for this, the Commonwealth of Independent States and the countries of which it is composed need a period of transition in order to work out acceptable approaches and adequately evaluate the existing realities. Over two years of independent development, we have done a great deal of work in establishing a legal basis for the market. We have already established the basis and guarantees that opened up the Turkmen market to foreign investors and enterprises. In Turkmenistan we have introduced private property, including land, and we have established zones of free economic development. Today we have a stable political situation and social agreement. It is important that society be psychologically prepared for new economic relations.

On 1 November this year, Turkmenistan will introduce its own national monetary unit, the manat. We are in an extremely unstable monetary zone, which would mean certain limitations for Turkmenistan if we gave up our sovereignty and formed our own policy regarding prices, taxation, budgeting, credit and monetary policy. Hence, our country has sometimes absorbed some losses because of continuing inflation and the economic crisis.

All of this was conditioned by the need to introduce our own currency. We believe that our own currency policy will be closely linked to that of the United States dollar, and we intend to ensure, from the time we introduce it, its convertibility. According to prognoses of international experts and our own evaluations, we have a real opportunity of doing this. The manat will be a reliable currency for the State reserves. The introduction of a national currency policy will hasten structural changes in the economy and bring us closer to the market.

With the International Monetary Fund we have worked up a programme of structural economic changes, including a step-by-step process. From 1 October we have begun a broad liberalization of prices, including plans to enter the world price system and this also includes energy prices. With the introduction of the manat as our currency we are beginning active privatization, which involves, first and foremost, the sphere of services in the area of medium-sized and large enterprises. This is to be done by selling enterprises at auction and distributing shares among workers. We hope to conclude the privatization process by the end of 1995.

I should like to point out that the privatization programme has been carried out in close cooperation with the World Bank. In addition, measures to free prices have been undertaken by the Government in order to free up trade. Licensing of exports will take place with a view to observing norms ensured through national security and the protection of our cultural and artistic heritage. We shall also undertake other steps designed to promote maximum stimulation of international trade and eliminate administrative barriers and to increase access to the market. In a time of transition to a market economy, we intend to make the State's role more streamlined and open and significantly reduce its interference in economic activities.

We welcome the attention the United Nations specialized agencies have paid us with regard to our problems. Despite our difficulties and the problems yet to be solved, the Republic has achieved considerable success. Over the first six months of 1993, Turkmenistan's national

income increased by 112 per cent. Such growth would not have been achieved by many States in a similar situation. Over that same period industrial output increased by 116.9 per cent, and agricultural production increased by 124 per cent.

The stronger our economy, the more reliable the fabric of political and social life in our State. At the same time, we believe that economic development is inconceivable without our country's steady development of a society in which the individual and his interests are regarded as the most important end. For Turkmenistan, which for 70 years had a totalitarian system with backward social development, development of the economy remains the keystone of our State policy. In this context, along with other forthcoming major international events, such as the International Conference on Population and Development, the Fourth World Conference on Women, with the three objectives, equality, development and peace, and the International Conference on Population and Development, which will deal with problems of human beings and their need for shelter, we welcome the preparations for the World Summit for Social Development, to be held in Copenhagen in 1995, which will deal, we think, in detail with social consequences of economic reform and restructuring as applied to countries in transition. In the context of social problems, I should like to point out that in 1990 we had the World Summit for Children, which established a new basis for improving living conditions for children the world over.

The Government of Turkmenistan gives priority attention to these endeavours. Turkmenistan joined in the Convention on the Rights of the Child and intends very soon to sign the Declaration that was adopted at that World Summit. We also have serious work under way for national programmes of action in order to achieve the goals outlined in the Declaration.

We share the view of the international community that we must rebuild the Earth's ecology. We support international cooperation in United Nations efforts in this timely endeavour. In our view, it is sustainable development and balanced attention to the interests of all countries that will ensure the successful solution of global, regional and subregional problems; this should accord with the conclusions of the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development and of the Convention on climate change.

I announce before the Assembly that Turkmenistan intends to eliminate all its nuclear weapons and will continue its support for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), for the chemical weapons Convention, and for the bacteriological (biological) weapons Convention.

I convey the gratitude of the President of Turkmenistan, of our Government and of our people to the United Nations for its support and its understanding.

I should also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his tireless and innovative work.

Turkmenistan wishes to state without reserve that it will honestly and openly cooperate with all States that share its attachment to the principles of the Organization. Our policies will be based on common sense and on protecting our people's interests. Turkmenistan, in creating a democratic, secular State, is open to peaceful cooperation and ready to engage in broadly-based, mutually beneficial cooperation.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.